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Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alène, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].⁶²

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."⁶³ Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alène, and Nez Percé.⁶⁴ Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

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According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.⁶⁵

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alène, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

⁶² Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.

⁶³ Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 78.

⁶⁴ Ray, *Sanpoil and Nezperce*, pp. 25, 115.

⁶⁵ Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 359.

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gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reinforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

NORTHERN WARFARE

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish.

The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot."

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

" Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

SOUTHERN WARFARE

177 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in
721 common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Walula, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

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field fighting was the rule. The leader and the party were representatives of Sahaptin people of the region, not merely aggregations acting in their own interest. No excuse for precipitating a battle was necessary other than the traditional enmity. On the other hand, informants declare that warfare of this kind, even on a small scale, has never existed between the Sahaptin and the Salish. A traditional friendship here parallels the traditional hostility further south. This is corroborated by Lewis and Clark, who observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity in 1805.⁶⁹

Klamath war practices may well reflect certain early conditions further north, since they were never greatly influenced by the Plains. The probability of this is increased by the fact that their affiliation is definitely not to the south. Spier writes:

Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

This last might well have been written of the Umatilla or Nez Percé. Spier continues, lending support to this correlation:

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east.

Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the . . . people of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco at the Dalles. Warfare is directed in all other directions. . . . Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. . . . Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.⁷⁰

Spier and Sapir's information on Wishram warfare indicates that

⁶⁹ Cf. Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 391 ff.

⁷⁰ Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 24-27.

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628 it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of
721 the Coast.⁷¹

PLAINS-TYPE WARFARE

177 No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous
721 in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.⁷² The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."⁷³ It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitar.

⁷¹ Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228-33.

⁷² See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, *passim*; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

⁷³ Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.